Warning from Chile—*An Editorial*

THE Nation

September 13, 1952

What Kind of Congress?

With Ike . . . With Adlai

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

African Auction

Cashing in on Old Imperialisms

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

*

Indo-China

The True Story of an Unknown War

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

SEP 19 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Hospitals for the People?

San Francisco

THE Hill-Burton act, passed by Congress in 1946, authorized federal aid for hospital construction to the amount of $1,125,000,000. Its stated goal was to "afford the necessary physical facilities for furnishing adequate hospital, clinic, and similar service to all the people." The nation's population had long ago outstripped existing hospital facilities; little private capital was available for hospital construction. To ease the acute shortage, the government agreed to bear one-third of the cost of a new hospital if the state and the local group building it would each put up a third.

The act was just what the doctors and the hospital administrators ordered. The only string Congress attached to the money thus appropriated was that the hospital must be built in an area where the state found existing facilities inadequate. The question of how much the public should be charged for care in Hill-Burton hospitals was left entirely to the state, the act declaring only that each state "may" require assurance that "there will be made available in each such hospital a reasonable volume of hospital services to persons unable to pay therefor."

Most states simply ignored this clause. Indeed, the California law governing public hospitals built under the act ordered them to charge "such rates as will permit [them] to be operated on a self-supporting basis." In order to break even, these hospitals are today charging on the average around $25 a day for a bed and routine services, such as X-ray, laboratory examinations, drugs, and dressings. This is, of course, considerably more than the middle-bracket taxpayer can afford. Even persons covered by some form of hospital insurance find their finances seriously strained by a long illness.

THE PEOPLE of Marin County, a suburban area just north of San Francisco, protested vigorously when they found that the new Marin General Hospital, which opened in May of this year, charged from $18 to $20 a day for a room alone. The 104-bed, ultra-modern institution had been built with $2,000,000 of local, state, and federal funds under the Hill-Burton act. The voters had taxed themselves to meet their one-third share of the cost after it had been dinned into their ears that Marin General was being built to meet the county's needs for more facilities. They had heard so much talk about a "public hospital," "federal aid," and "adequate service" that they had assumed the new hospital's rates would somehow be within their budgets. In reply to their angry protests the hospital's board of directors answered that the law was the law. They were charging no more than other hospitals in the area, and they should not be blamed for the high cost of hospital care in general.

The public's anger was heightened when the directors notified Dr. Rudolf Wolff, a popular Marin County physician, that he could not practice at the hospital because of alleged "incompetency." Dr. Wolff, a naturalized German Jewish refugee, is an outspoken critic of the "political activities" of the American Medical Association, an advocate of compulsory health insurance, and the only physician in the county affiliated with the Permanente Plan, a pre-payment system of panel medicine using its own doctors and hospitals. His attitude is of course anathema to the majority of the county's physicians, and it was upon their advice that the hospital's board of directors had barred him.

Dr. Wolff's patients were quick to declare that he was being persecuted. Marin General, they said, was a public hospital, built with public funds and administered by a publicly elected board of directors. Since Dr. Wolff was licensed by the state of California to practice medicine and surgery, he could not be barred from a public hospital. Again the directors quoted California law: "The rules of the hospital . . . shall include provision that membership on the medical staff be restricted to physicians and surgeons competent in their respective fields, worthy in character and professional ethics."

Dr. Wolff hired an attorney and prepared for a long fight. But his wife's health had been seriously affected by the controversy, and on the eve of a scheduled public hearing he withdrew his application to practice at the hospital "in the expectation that an interpretation of the hospital's standards will be arrived at to preserve my honor and dignity."

The issue of rates and the case of Dr. Wolff combined to make it very clear that the public had spent its money to build an institution not markedly different from a private hospital. "That's true," said a top hospital administrator, "but the people are blaming the Hill-Burton act for failing to do something it was never intended to do." "Well," commented a disgruntled taxpayer, "it's nice to have plenty of hospital beds even if we can't afford to use them."

A. W. HOPPE

[*The author is on the staff of the San Francisco* Chronicle.]

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Setback for McCarran

Thomas W. Mechling's victory over Alan Bible, Nevada's former Attorney General and one of its best liked citizens, in the contest for the Democratic senatorial nomination represents a sharp setback for Senator Pat McCarran, who actively supported the hand-picked nominee of his machine. Mechling a newcomer to Nevada, campaigned as a New Dealer, opposing the Taft-Hartley act, favoring public-power developments, F. E. P. C., and other progressive measures. Resentment against McCarran's dictatorial control of the state's policies has been mounting, and Mechling took full advantage of this fact. He received unwitting support from the wife of Senator McCarran's law partner, who stood up in a meeting which Mechling had been invited to address and made a speech on white supremacy!

The cream of the jest is the fact that Senator McCarran actually financed Mechling's successful campaign. Mrs. Mechling worked for some years in Washington as McCarran's stenographer and carefully put aside a portion of her earnings against the day when her husband would decide to challenge the McCarran machine—an interesting side-light on the Senator's genius for personal relations. The campaign cost the Mechlings, who have been living in a trailer to save money, about $7,600. We hope McCarran's victims will pass the hat and help Mechling defeat Senator George Malone, the Republican nominee. Perhaps Mrs. Mechling can be induced to oppose McCarran in 1956.

The Bridges Decision

Attorneys for Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and his co-defendants, J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, today announced their determination to carry the fight for the three labor leaders to the Supreme Court of the United States. At the same time the union itself was laying plans for a national campaign to reach all sections of the labor movement as well as professional people and workers in the arts.

The affirmation of the convictions of the three I. L. W. U. officers by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco met violent protests from the rank and file. I. L. W. U. Local 6, numbering 12,000 warehouse workers in the Bay area, was in constitutional convention as the decision was handed down and interrupted its proceedings to hear brief speeches by Bridges and Robertson. A motion of "wholehearted and unstinting support, morally, financially, and in every other way," was voted by acclamation. "The decision," the motion said, "is another round in the fight against a union that refuses to buckle under to economic and political attacks."

This is the third major blow directed at the I. L. W. U. this year by federal agencies and courts. First the Supreme Court sustained a $750,000 Taft-Hartley judgment against the union in favor of the Juneau Spruce Corporation. Last week a District Court in the state of Washington refused to grant a review of a judgment (for $270,000) against the union imposed when its members refused to handle "hot" cargo in 1948 at The Dalles, Oregon. In affirming the convictions of Bridges, Robertson, and Schmidt, the San Francisco court deliberately ignored previous decisions in the Obermeier and Marzani cases—made by higher courts in New York and the District of Columbia—which specifically refused to apply the war-time suspension act to cases of alleged "false swearing."

U. N.—the Stalemate Continues

The September session of the Security Council has already revealed that the East and West are as far apart as ever. Russia's proposal to admit simultaneously to the U. N. fourteen nations, nine from the Western bloc and five from the Communist, was rejected by the votes of the United States and five other Security Council countries. The Soviet delegate retaliated by making it plain that he will veto a United States-sponsored recommendation to admit Japan. Mr. Malik, whose replacement by Mr. Zorin continues to be the subject of lively speculation, seized the opportunity to compare the direct Soviet veto, "used as a protective measure against the violations of the Charter," with the indirect veto of the United States made possible only through a "mechanical majority." With this majority, Mr. Malik argued, the United States can permit itself the luxury both of not using the right of veto and of charging the Russians with abuse of that right. The Soviet delegation, he added, was determined to use the veto whenever it served the purpose of the U. N. regardless of any capital made of it.

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It is already clear that certain officials of the Secretariat who would have preferred uncontroversial sessions of the Assembly during the Presidential election campaign will be disappointed. Many thorny issues which cannot be ignored or evaded are up for discussion, among them Tunisia, Morocco, and Korea. The fact that a year has passed, and the weeks still go by, without the slightest prospect of a truce in Korea, is causing impatience in many delegates. After all, Korea is a United Nations affair, not solely the concern of the United States. Military authorities may be satisfied with the attempt to force a truce through the use of air power, but in the U. N. there is an increasing demand to place the issue of truce negotiations on the agenda of the Assembly that convenes in New York in October.

"The Senator from Madrid"

Enraged by the refusal of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union to settle its wage demands against the copper companies on terms which he approved, Senator McCarran, known variously these days as "the Duke of Nevada" and "the Senator from Madrid," has subpoenaed four officials of the union to appear before a subcommittee of the McCarran Internal Security Committee in Salt Lake City on October 7 and 8. Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah, up for reelection this year, is a member of the subcommittee. The union opposes Watkins, as it has opposed the McCarran machine in Nevada. Residents of Utah who do not like the idea of politicians attempting to coerce their opposition will note the timing of the hearings—one month before the election—and mark their ballots for the Democratic nominee, who is likely to be Walter Granger. A major reason for McCarran's hatred of the union is to be found in the fact that Graham Dolan, one of the officials summoned, recently spent two weeks in Nevada investigating McCarran's record. Nor has McCarran ever forgiven the mine workers for their failure to support him in 1944. The union has invited Senator McCarran to its annual convention which will be held in New York this month. Unfortunately it lacks the power of subpoena.

"Exaggerated Campaign Oratory"

On the eve of the Republican primary in Wisconsin the Luce publications, which last year became involved in a quarrel with Senator Joe McCarthy, suddenly decided that Joe is after all merely a bad-mannered Republican who now and then stretches the truth a little too far. In an editorial in its issue of September 8 *Life* defined McCarthyism as "a form of exaggerated campaign oratory"—a venial, not a mortal sin—and cited the oratory of William Jennings Bryan as an early example of McCarthyism. Obviously disturbed by the response that the issue of McCarthyism has aroused, *Life* hastened to remind "all honest liberals" of the real danger—the

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Great Sin Against Humanity—which of course is communism. *Time,* in its September 8 issue, devoted two pages to an article in which Elliot B. Cohen developed his favorite thesis that McCarthy is just an Old Dark-Bearded Bogyman and that only cranks like Justice William O. Douglas talk about "witch hunts" and the suppression of civil liberties. Why this last minute pre-election effort to minimize the importance of McCarthyism? The fact is, of course, that the attack on McCarthy has assumed dimensions that the backers of General Eisenhower do not relish. Eisenhower himself has been cruelly embarrassed by the issue. He is anxious to get on with his "inspirational" campaign and to avoid any questions of the kind that test one's devotion to moral principle. The High Churchmen who edit *Time* and *Life* see the problem and are anxious to assist the General. To call McCarthyism a form of campaign oratory may not be the Great Sin Against Humanity, but it is a sin all the same—a venial sin, that is.

Publishers Next

An all-out investigation of communism in the publishing industry is in the making. Until recently the textbook trade—which has borne the brunt of the attack—has been harassed only by patriotic and free-enterprise organizations (see The Battle of the Books, by Matthew Josephson, in *The Nation* of June 28). But what began as a skirmish is rapidly developing into a full-fledged engagement. A ruling of the Texas State Board of Education last month requiring a publisher who submits a book for use in Texas schools to file a non-communist affidavit marks the beginning of a new type of censorship at the state level. And will it stop there? Will not Congressional investigation of the foundations and the inquiry into the Radio Writers' Guild, an affiliate of the Authors' League of America—which will unquestionably be investigated if McCarran's charges against the R. W. G. stick—lead to the publishers' door?

Although none of the big New York publishing houses have been scared into buying *Counterattack's* employee-screening service, the industry is setting its house in order. Editors known for their liberal leanings, such as Angus Cameron, have been jettisoned. But perhaps the clearest sign of the impending attack is the fact that books are now being censored to suit the superpatriot and bigot. McGraw-Hill, one of the country's largest textbook publishers, is the latest to come to heel. Recently Governor Persons of Alabama took issue with a chapter condemning segregation and supporting F. E. P. C. in a standard high-school textbook, "The Challenge of Democracy." McGraw-Hill, the publisher, was notified by the Alabama State Board of Education that the book would be banned from the public schools unless the section was deleted. McGraw-Hill quickly complied.

Warning from Chile

THE hate-America campaign is making headway in Latin America. General Carlos Ibañez has just won a smashing victory in the presidential elections in Chile. Because he did not obtain the majority provided for in the constitution of the country, Congress must choose the winner from the two top men, Ibañez and Matte, the latter backed by the Liberal and Conservative Parties. No one in Santiago doubts that Congress will vote the General in thereby ending the fourteen-year regime of the Radical Party.

The former Chilean dictator, whose star has been in eclipse since his unfortunate presidential term in the early thirties, has made a sensational comeback; he received almost more votes than his three rival candidates together, including the government candidate. He has been brought back to power by a large section of the working class, the peasants, the young people, and women voting in Chile for the first time. His election is hailed by the Argentine press as another triumph for the principles of Peronism.

What kind of program did this once hated reactionary offer that was able to transform him into the most popular candidate? In the answer lies the particular seriousness of the Chilean elections as far as the United States is concerned. The program had three main points: (1) opposition to Yankee imperialism, (2) cancelation of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance with the United States, and (3) abolition of the law suppressing communism. The day after the election Ibañez's headquarters announced that he would reestablish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Ibañez makes the fifth Latin American President who is *persona non grata* to the Department of State. The others are Perón of Argentina, Estenssoro of Bolivia, Velasco Ibarra of Ecuador, and Arbenz of Guatemala. Mexico's newly elected President, Ruiz Cortines, who will take office in December, is well known for his firm opposition to any kind of military commitment that would involve the use of Mexican troops outside the country. In Uruguay the latest constitutional reform, on the model of the Swiss federal system, has opened the doors of the government to Alberto de Herrera, a political leader whose slogan has always been "down with Yankee imperialism!"

Curiously enough, this wave of *antiyanquismo* sweeping across Latin America cannot be ascribed to the activity of the local Communist parties, which have fought the candidacies of Perón, Paz Estenssoro, Velasco Ibarra, and Ibañez. Instead of seeking its cause in the intrigues of the Kremlin, we should explore our own good-neighbor policy. During the Pan-American conference in Washington in the spring of 1951 the disparity between the objectives of the United States and those of its neighbors to the south, democrats and dictators alike, was al-

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ready apparent. The United States put its emphasis on the utilization of the resources of South America in the event of a third world war. The Latin American countries asked for the kind of economic collaboration which would allow them to develop a broadly based peace economy, not a war economy. United States insistence on bilateral military pacts gave demagogues like Ibañez a double-edged argument against the "impositions of American economic and defense policies."

Added to the resentment created during the inter-American conference is the disillusionment caused by seeing the United States back the colonial powers in their relations with the restive populations overseas. Our unwillingness to allow the cases of Tunisia and Morocco to be discussed in the United Nations has increased the suspicions of the Latin Americans who have grown up during the political fight against colonial domination. The exigencies of the cold war have made the United States, in Latin America as well as in the Middle East, the heir of the hatred that in the past was visited upon the colonial powers of Europe.

The warning from Chile is a serious one. Our diplomats will be ill advised if they think they can still count on the Latin American bloc in the United Nations.

Eight Years After

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

EIGHT years ago the eyes of every liberal and progressive in the world were focused on the great French Resistance. As it emerged from the battle against Hitler, full of heroic deeds and rich in new ideas, people could legitimately expect that the liberation movement would lead Europe toward a new era. The strength of the Liberation was the unity of its components—from Catholics to Communists. That strength was soon lost in a crisis of factionalism and division. The comrades of yesterday became the enemies of today, and as a result of the split reaction has regained as much influence in France and other parts of Europe as if Hitler had been victorious.

In a special issue, *L'Observateur,* an independent Paris weekly whose editor, Claude Bourdet, is well known to readers of *The Nation,* has revived the epic of the Resistance. For the first time in years it has brought together the following distinguished contributors: Pierre Guillain de Benouville, the unforgettable hero of "Sacrifice du Matin," today a deputy representing De Gaulle's Rally of the French People; Emmanuel d'Astier, Minister of the Interior in the Alger government, today a deputy of the Progressiviste group which Pierre Cot heads in the National Assembly; Albert Grazier, former secretary of the underground labor federation, today a Socialist deputy from the Seine district; Francisque Gay, a member of the M. R. P. and once, with Georges Bidault, one of the outstanding leaders in the National Committee of the Resistance; Pascal Pia, during the Resistance an editor of *Combat* and today managing editor of *Rassemblement,* the Gaullist paper; and Pierre Hervé of the Communist Party.

It is best to let the contributors speak for themselves. Claude Bourdet leads off:

> It seemed to us that the Third Republic could not be revived, any more than the agony of Vichy. We felt as if we were at the same time the tangible proof of this double death and the nails in the two coffins. Certainly we had no foreboding that after a mere seven years the Third Republic and Vichy would be joined in a monstrous marriage.

And he concludes:

> Today our Communist and Gaullist comrades join us, the stubborn defenders of an ideal that has grown dim but is not lost, in evoking our lost hopes. I wish that both groups, instead of attributing our failure to the power of wicked men, would ask themselves whether too many unrealized and unrealizable demands on the one hand and the timid distrust of the French people on the other have not reduced to dust the greatest French adventure of modern times. If this issue of *l'Observateur* has served only to make that point, it will have been worth while.

"The time of our great hopes will return," writes Francisque Gay. He expresses the dissatisfaction with present French foreign policy felt by a section of the Catholic Party to which he belongs:

> We shall not permit West Germany to set up the central administration of certain mines just because by a sudden and inexplicable turn of events we find our-

IN COMING ISSUES

THE ABSOLUTISTS

Whittaker Chambers and the Alger Hiss Case

BY JOHN STRACHEY

(British Member of Parliament, former Secretary of State for War, author of "The Coming Struggle for Power," "The Nature of the Capitalist Crisis," "A Faith to Fight For")

Mr. Strachey contributes a brilliant analysis of those new authoritarians and intellectual terrorists, the Absolutists.

* * *

Willard Shelton's current analysis of how the elections will affect the character of the Eighty-third Congress will be expanded in a series of round-up reports on key senatorial contests, with special attention to the "meat shortage" or "class of 1946" Senators—Jenner, Kem, Cain, Malone, and Watkins.

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selves, in company with this same Germany and with Spain and Japan, engaged in a struggle between the Western world and the Eurasian bloc.

Pierre Hervé, the Communist, after blaming the other forces of the Resistance for the failure, writes:

> For the moment let us leave aside the origins of the present situation. Let us cease our theoretical debates. Since we are not, so far as I know, threatened with a Russian dictatorship, we should ask how we can get rid of the American protectorate, which is here.

His remarks should be read in connection with a dispatch from Paris in the New York *Times* of September 4 about the expected return to Paris of Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, and about the new Communist line in regard to collaboration with other political groups.

The special issue ends with the words: "All the hopes of yesterday are not dead." Its publication is an important event. It will dampen the hopes of those who believe that every political problem in Europe can be settled by a coalition government of rightist parties and raise the spirits of those who have never lost faith in the final victory of the people.

What Kind of Congress?

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

THE character of the Eighty-third Congress will depend largely on a relatively small number of voters in the "marginal" or doubtful Northern, Middle Western, and Far Western states. It will depend, that is, on whether the Democrats with Stevenson get a few more seats in the House and Senate than the Democrats with Truman got in 1948, or whether General Eisenhower, winning the Presidency, helps the Republicans to sweep the House if not the Senate.

One obvious way to assay the next Congress is to consider the assortment of character assassins, know-nothings, and reactionaries who will have been elected if Eisenhower and the Republicans gain complete control of the government. Another is to look at the men who will hold the committee chairmanships. No matter who wins, most of the committees will be headed by weary old veterans, selected under the seniority system, whose temper is unfriendly to the New Deal.

But this is not the whole story. The Eighty-first Congress of 1949-50 showed that with just a few more dependable liberal votes a forward-looking President could have put through a sound and forward-looking domestic program. The Eighty-second Congress proved that when the Democrats suffer setbacks in the marginal states, liberal legislation has no chance.

The Republicans face the serious danger that even if Eisenhower is elected, the Senate will remain in Democratic hands. Thirty-five Senate seats are to be filled in November, and the Republicans must win twenty-three of them to have a bare majority of forty-nine. This necessity presumably haunts Ike as he searches for a definitive attitude toward that precious pair, Senators Jenner of Indiana and McCarthy* of Wisconsin, who charge that Eisenhower's war-time mentor, George C. Marshall, is a "traitor" to America.

The whole Republican senatorial "Class of 1946," for that matter, poses a problem for Eisenhower. Nine of the thirteen members of this group, the "meat shortage" Senators first elected in 1946 and now seeking second terms, are a gross liability. They include, in addition to McCarthy and Jenner, Cain of Washington, Malone of Nevada, Ecton of Montana, Watkins of Utah, Kem of Missouri, Bricker of Ohio, and Martin of Pennsylvania. None of the nine have contributed anything to American life but negativism and scandal-mongering; all have been sharply to the right of other Republicans in the Senate on both foreign and domestic issues.

The other four are Thye of Minnesota, Ives of New York, Flanders of Vermont, and Williams of Delaware. No one would dream of classing them with McCarthy, but they are not invulnerable. Williams has a poor voting record from a liberal and labor standpoint: he did contribute to exposing the crooks in the Bureau of Internal Revenue, but he was guilty of distortion in charging that Truman and the Department of Agriculture deliberately depressed farm prices in 1948 for campaign purposes. Flanders, who likes to think of himself as a liberal business man, has a mediocre voting record on key issues. Ives, who was supposed to know something about industrial relations, was responsible in 1947 for the futile and vicious "national emergency" sections of the Taft-Hartley act. Largely through his efforts the bill was brought out of the conference committee in which it had been carefully rewritten so that the Senate would be sure to override Truman's anticipated veto.

Even if Eisenhower holds his nose and tries to reelect

WILLARD SHELTON writes frequently in The Nation *about developments in Washington.*

* McCarthy ran for renomination in the Wisconsin Republican primary on September 9.

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all these thirteen Senators, he must still elect or reelect ten more Republicans to make up the magic forty-nine that would enable his party to organize the Senate. Republican professionals are telling him that control of the Senate is vital, that he cannot afford the luxury of repudiating anybody who claims the Republican label. He may find, however, that his refusal to repudiate at least McCarthy and Jenner will convince many voters that they cannot afford a Republican Administration.

Caricature by Seligson
Senator Taft

Two House members "needed" by Eisenhower are Representatives Vail and Busbey of Chicago, who were also elected in the "meat shortage" election of 1946 and resemble Senators McCarthy and Jenner in various other ways. Vail and Busbey were beaten in 1948 and elected again in the mid-term election of 1950. Another Republican that Ike needs is a thirty-three-year-old candidate in Michigan's Eighth District named Alvin M. Bentley. The incumbent Republican from Bentley's district, Representative Crawford, made a spectacle of himself several years ago by hounding out of his job a Commerce Department official whose daughter went to work for Tass, the Russian news agency. Bentley, who beat Crawford in the primaries, promises even more quixotic operations. He is a wealthy former State Department career official who grandiloquently quit his post in protest against what he called "appeasement" and "socialistic" policies and who in 1950 contributed $5,000 to the campaign fund of Senator John Marshall Butler, Republican, against former Senator Millard Tydings, Democrat, in Maryland.

The prospect for committee chairmanships next January is not reassuring even if the Democrats win. Senator McKellar of Tennessee, the senior Senate Democrat, is a lame duck, beaten in the primary by Representative Gore, and that is a gain. But with McKellar gone the senior Senate Democrat will be George of Georgia, who may either cling to his tax-writing power as chairman of the Finance Committee or become chairman of Foreign Relations in place of the retiring Tom Connally. Hayden of Arizona can claim McKellar's chairmanship of Appropriations. Maybank of South Carolina will continue to run Banking and Currency; Johnson of Colorado, Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Murray of Montana is a liberalizing influence as head of Labor and Public Welfare, but his power in the Democratic caucus depends on election results rather than on his own persuasiveness.

Generally speaking, a Democratic victory would mean that most committee chairmanships would go to Southerners, since Southerners have had the longest unbroken terms of service, and seniority is king. The New Deal-hating Representative Cox of Georgia may yet make the grade as chairman of the House Rules Committee: he has played second fiddle for a long time to the eighty-six-year-old Sabath of Illinois, who entered the House in 1907, six years before Wilson's first inaugural.

THE only more depressing thought is the possibility that the Republicans may gain control. In that case most of the committee posts would go back to the Congressmen who held them in the Eightieth Congress. For Representative Barden of North Carolina, now head of Education and Labor in the House and no friend of labor, the Republican substitute would be McConnell of Pennsylvania, labeled by labor groups wrong on every major foreign and domestic issue in the last Congress. "Meat Ax" John Taber of New York would take over House Appropriations, and Reed of New York would resume command of the tax-drafting Ways and Means Committee. Wolcott of Michigan would again head Banking and Currency, which controls legislation on prices, housing, and fiscal matters; Wolcott is so conservative that in the Eightieth Congress he successfully fought a housing bill sponsored in the Senate by Taft. Leo Allen of Illinois would succeed to the chairmanship of the House Rules Committee, where he served in the Eightieth Congress as faithful errand boy for Speaker Joe Martin.

In the Senate the Republican Old Guard would have almost absolute control. Taft could again claim the chairmanship of the G. O. P. Policy Committee and the Labor and Education Committee. Bridges of New Hampshire, once more chairman of Armed Services, would be president pro tem unless he wanted to stay as party floor leader. Capehart of Indiana would head Banking and Currency; Millikin of Colorado, Finance; Ferguson of Michigan, Judiciary; McCarthy of Wisconsin, if reelected, Government Operations. The Republican liberals would be Aiken of Vermont, Agriculture; Tobey of New Hampshire, Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Langer of North Dakota, Civil Service. A champion of bipartisan foreign policy, Wiley, Wisconsin's senior Senator, would head the Foreign Relations Committee.

The Eightieth Congress showed what could be expected from a body controlled by the Republicans—tax laws to favor the wealthy, anti-labor laws, laws to cut down public-power and reclamation expenditures, an attack on farm prices and cooperatives. This was the result when the House, in 1947-48, was composed of 245 Republicans and 188 Democrats, the Senate of 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats. The Eighty-second Con-

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gress showed what could be expected when the Democrats had only narrow control. The House was divided 234 to 199 in January, 1951, with one seat vacant and one occupied by an independent; the Senate, 49 to 47, shifting to 50 to 46 after the death of Senator Vandenberg and the appointment of Blair Moody in his place. This Congress barely held the line on foreign-aid appropriations—if "held the line" is a correct description of fund-slashing amendments—and turned sharply conservative on domestic legislation. It weakened price and rent controls, cut public-housing funds, passed a "states' rights" tidelands-oil bill, refused to give the President any power, except Taft-Hartley, to handle the steel strike, passed the McCarran-Walter immigration bill over the President's veto. Neither House nor Senate went to the trouble of voting on a major civil-rights bill or an attempt to repeal Taft-Hartley.

Contrast the record of these two Congresses with that of the Eighty-first Congress, elected in 1948 when Truman won the Presidency. The House then contained 263 Democrats, 171 Republicans, and one independent—the Democratic margin being bigger by 29 votes than it was to be two years later. The Senate contained 54 Democrats against 42 Republicans. Nobody would call the Eighty-first Congress ideal. It passed the tyrannical McCarran anti-subversives bill over Truman's veto and was marked by the emergence of rabid McCarthyism. The Senate adopted the notorious Wherry rule to facilitate filibusters and kill civil-rights legislation. But the Eighty-first Congress, with its stronger Democratic representation from "marginal" Northern, Western, and Middle Western areas, did pass the first post-war public-housing bill. It checked temporarily the inroads of private interests on public-power and reclamations projects; TVA steam plants were given approval. It liberalized the discriminatory displaced-persons law passed by the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. It extended rent control. By a majority of one the Senate approved Point Four.

THE close votes by which legislation was passed or beaten are significant. The Kerr natural-gas bill passed both Houses but by such narrow margins—44 to 38 in the Senate, 176 to 174 in the House—that no attempt was made to override the veto. The Lucas amendment to knock anti-union provisions for injunctions out of the Taft-Hartley law was beaten in the Senate by only 46 to 44 votes; the Taft "package" amendments to Taft-Hartley, proposed as a substitute for the Administration-supported repealer, were passed by only 49 to 44. In the House the anti-labor Wood bill was substituted for the Lesinski Taft-Hartley repealer by a close 217-to-203 vote. On dozens of issues a shift of five to ten votes in the House, of one to four votes in the Senate, would have allowed a substantial part of President Truman's Fair Deal to be adopted. All this offers hope that if the non-Southern marginal districts send progressive Democrats to the new Congress, the bipartisan coalition of Southern and Northern reactionaries may lose control of legislation.

Psychological factors are not to be dismissed. Just after Claude Pepper won renomination in the Florida primary and a veteran Democrat snorted that "no one appeared to be in favor of the New Deal except the people," the first wage-hour bill was passed in the Senate. Similarly the election of liberal Democrats in critical states in place of the "meat shortage" Republicans of 1946 might have a profound effect on the new Congress. It might even cause the Southern bourbons to modify their attitude as they did after the 1932 and 1936 elections.

A major test of the new Congress will be what it does about civil rights. Much depends on the leadership of the President-elect, but the readiness of non-Southerners in the Senate to fight for the revision of the Wherry rule from the first day of the session is also a crucial factor. The rulings of Vice-President Barkley, who will occupy the chair from January 4 to January 20, will be important for this issue. The question is whether the Southerners will be willing to accept tolerable compromises and, if not, whether they will be finally overridden. Republican Senators voted with Dixiecrats in 1949 to force through the Wherry rule, and most votes against it were cast by Northern Democrats. It is not primarily a party issue.

Senator McCarran

The potential significance of Democratic majorities built up by victories in non-Southern states is underscored by comparing the Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congresses in merely one respect. With a 263-to-171 Democratic majority, the House in 1949 smashed the blockading power of its Rules Committee and the committee's conservative bipartisan majority. In 1951, when the Democrats lost strength in the North and Middle West, the anti-liberal power of the Rules Committee was restored. The House thus revoked a reform of major importance and served notice that defeat of progressive Democrats in districts which may swing either way means death for progressive legislation for at least two years.

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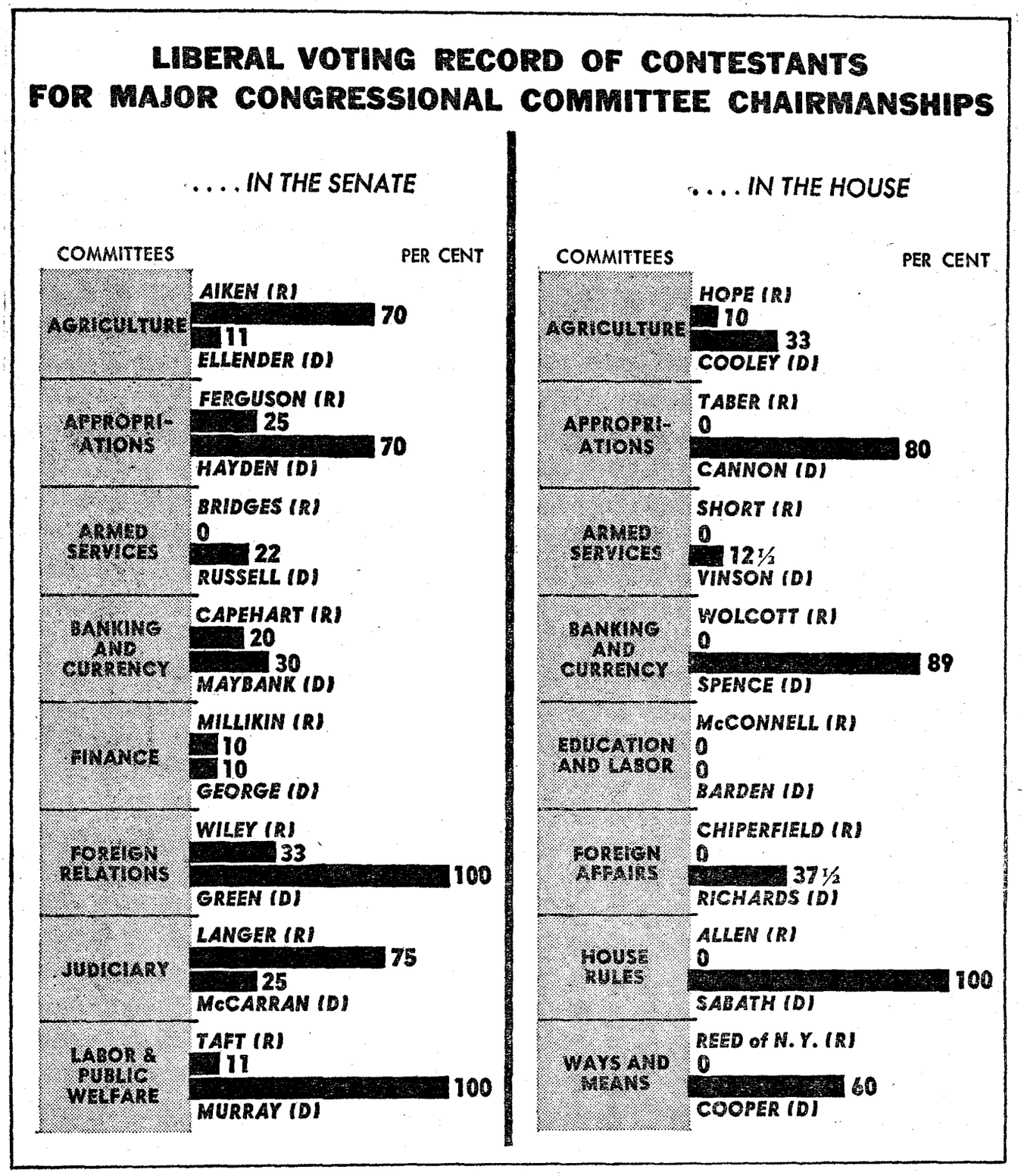

TO GAUGE the liberalism of those members of the House and Senate, Republican and Democratic, who may become chairmen of major committees in the next Congress, *The Nation* has tabulated their votes in ten crucial roll calls taken during the last four years. In the field of foreign policy the issues were connected with Point Four and economic aid for Europe as distinguished from military assistance; the domestic issues were a Fair Employment Practices Commission, repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, expanded public housing, price controls, and whether President Truman's veto of the McCarran bills on internal security and immigration should be upheld. The figures in the chart show the percentage of times each potential chairman voted with the liberals.

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Cashing in on Old Imperialisms

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

London

> I believe that we should make available to peace-loving people the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. . . . The old imperialism, exploitation for foreign profit, has no place in our plans.

THIS was President Truman's Point Four; in these words he held out to the backward areas of the world the hope of receiving generous and intelligent aid from the United States. Congress, however, has voted very small sums for the specific purposes of Point Four, though large sums are being spent through the Mutual Security Administration and other agencies to promote certain kinds of industry in colonial territories. Such spending is being presented to the world as a contribution to the development of backward areas; in reality it is merely imperialism in a new form.

Clear evidence of this is furnished by current activities in the Belgian Congo and British Central Africa. If any areas need the benefit of Point Four, these do. And as it happens they are also the greatest source of uranium in the Western world and a principal source of copper, chrome, cobalt, and other scarce minerals. Naturally, therefore, the United States feels intense interest in the region. The question is whether this interest is in any way related to the true development of these territories, whether it will raise the cultural and material level of the indigenous peoples as a whole.

Consider the case of Tanganyika Concessions, the biggest financial holding corporation in tropical Africa. "Tanks," as the London Stock Exchange lists it, possesses a large minority interest—large enough to be in practice a controlling interest—in a Belgian company called the Union Minière du Haut Katanga. This company operates the uranium mines of the Belgian Congo, from which the United States draws currently about 90 per cent of the uranium it uses. "Tanks" also owns 90 per cent of the stock of the Benguela Railway, which connects the uranium mines with the West African coast at Lobito Bay. Apart from these holdings, which alone would give it a quite inordinate importance, the corporation has a controlling interest in other mining companies, such as Kentan Gold Areas (Kenya) and Uruwira Minerals (Tanganyika). To complete the picture, it should be added that "Tanks" is closely connected, by capital ownership and interlocking directorates, with the British South Africa Company, which owns the mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia and in part of Nyasaland, and with the Anglo-American Corporation, which mines gold in South Africa and copper in Northern Rhodesia. In short, "Tanks" is engaged in the long-established and reputable task of exploiting British colonies. Its directors may argue that they are acting in the best interests of the native inhabitants, but they would never dream of denying that they are imperialists.

Lately "Tanks" has acquired a new partner. How this came about is a mystery, although the posthumously published memoirs of Senator Vandenberg throw some light on the subject. One or two facts are clear. "Tanks" has issued 3,831,412 ordinary shares. In April, 1950, the British government sold 1,677,961 of these shares, which it then owned, to an Anglo-Belgian group. This, it may be noted, was a strange transaction, for it amounted to the British government surrendering what was practically a controlling interest in an extremely important corporation. Then, in November of the same year, it was announced that 600,000 of these shares had been resold to an American group headed by Ladenburg Thalmann and Company and Lazard Frères of New York, in association with the International Basic Economy Corporation and David Rockefeller—that is, to the Rockefeller interests. What lay behind this deal? Senator Vandenberg's explanation is the only one available: according to his memoirs, one of the conditions of aid to Britain in 1948, duly accepted by the British, was that the United States be given a bigger share in uranium development in the Congo. To this extent, at least, the United States has joined the direct beneficiaries of imperialism.

In fact, the United States is now officially in business in Africa. Early this year the M. S. A. lent $1,640,000 to Uruwira Minerals, which will repay the loan with lead and copper. At the same time it advanced $100,000 to promote asbestos mining in Southern Rhodesia, this to be repaid with asbestos "of satisfactory grade." Last summer E. C. A. loans totaling about $24,000,000 for the improvement of railways in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and for the promotion of copper and cobalt mining in Northern Rhodesia were announced by W. L. Batt, head of the London mission. As usual, these loans are to be repaid, "to the fullest extent possible," in such strategic raw materials as copper, cobalt, tungsten, and chrome. Other loans, often

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in the form of indispensable equipment, have been and are being negotiated.

In the United States this is likely to be called "technical aid" for the development of backward areas. It deserves this label only in so far as all foreign investments must in the end contribute to economic development. If technical aid is understood as a direct contribution to the advancement of backward peoples, the label is completely false. The loans have no other purpose than to facilitate the extraction of raw materials for foreign profit. Urging "economic statesmanship," the President's Foreign Materials Policy Commission says:

> Companies cannot treat foreign concessions as reserves to be brought into production only when it suits the narrow objective of maximizing profits for the company. . . . A concession country has a right to the efficient development of its resources at a rate commensurate with its national interests as well as with the reasonable interests of concessionaires.

M. S. A. and other loans can be regarded as "economic statesmanship" only if the well-being of the territories receiving them is considered synonymous with the interests of their European exploiters.

That seems to be the view of the United States. It is no secret that the United States government approves the British government's current proposals for the federation of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the two protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These proposals are vehemently opposed by African opinion in the three territories because they would mean bringing the two protectorates, containing nearly four million Africans, under a government which practices the worst kind of racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia. The white settlers, numerically outnumbered forty to one, want federation so as to be able to block the rise of "Gold Coastism" in Central Africa—that is, keep the Africans in political and economic subjection. "Obviously it is of advantage and interest to the United States if there is a federated government in Central Africa," remarked a well-informed member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Council on June 24; "they want better security for the money they put out." In other words, having lent money for imperialist purposes, the United States is finding that it must draw appropriate political conclusions.

In the existing circumstances the policy of cashing in on the imperialism of other nations can have only one result for the United States. By sheer force of capital it will find itself the main support, not of a new deal for Africa, but of continuing exploitation. Its policies will not advance the welfare of the people or racial equality. They will bolster the doctrine of "white supremacy" and produce profits based on "cheap African labor."

Story of an Unknown War

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

WHAT I. F. Stone undertook to do for the Korean war in his book on its "Hidden History," Professor Philippe Devilliers in "Histoire du Vietnam, 1946-52" has done for the war in Indo-China. Devilliers served on the staff of General Leclerc in Indo-China and later, for a time, was correspondent of the Paris *Monde*. His book presents the most complete record and analysis we have of the events that led up to the war and of the establishment and failure of the Bao Dai regime. It is a long book—the true story of this "unknown" war could not be told briefly. Never before, except perhaps in Korea, has any war been treated so tendentiously in the press; never before has the news been so cynically "cooked" by public-relations officers; never before have so many vital documents been withheld from the newspaper reader.

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The Vietnam war, which has cost 30,000 French lives and more in money than all the Marshall Plan aid France has received, and which continues to cripple the nation's finances, block its reconstruction, and ruin its military position in Europe, has from the beginning inspired an uninformed, emotional, and ideological quarrel in France between left and right. It is a sort of Dreyfus Case, to which no end is in sight.

The distant origins of the Vietnam war are found by M. Devilliers in (1) the existence, long before the French first landed in Indo-China in 1864, of a Vietnamese state with a civilization of its own and a genuine national consciousness—something really without a parallel in the rest of the French Empire; (2) the completely cynical oppression and exploitation practiced by the regime set up in Indo-China by the Third Republic; and (3) the immensely important fact that after the collapse of the Vichy regime and the Japanese occupation of 1945 the only genuine government existing in Vietnam was a nationalist government which

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expected to be recognized as such by the great powers. Instead, the French, on their return, put the clock back and proceeded, to begin with, to turn a separatist Cochin-China, the area where the government of Ho Chi-minh was least well organized, into something remarkably like an old-time colony. Much more reactionary even than the Vichy High Commissioner, Admiral Decoux—who oddly enough gave greater home rule to the Vietnamese than the Third Republic had given them—De Gaulle's representative, Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, became chief instigator of the reconquest of Indo-China. A large part of Devilliers's book is a complicated story of how the "Saigon clique" around the Admiral fought the more far-sighted men—General Leclerc, M. Sainteny, the French Commissioner in Tonking, and later General Morlière, the military commander in Tonking—who realized that nothing could be worse for the French than the withdrawal of Ho Chi-minh to the *maquis* and the outbreak of real war in Indo-China.

DEVILLIERS stresses the point that after Ho Chi-minh saw that none of the great powers were inclined to recognize the independence of Vietnam, he determined to seek an agreement with the French and not to sell out to either the Kuomintang Chinese—the Chinese Communists were still far away—or the United States. It was the right-wing, essentially anti-French and xenophobe nationalists who pressed hardest for a pro-Chinese policy and went so far as to treat Ho as a French agent. To Ho, a man imbued with French culture and relying on support from the French left, reconciliation with France was easily the lesser evil; and Devilliers's book, though extremely *nuancé* in parts, is a crushing indictment of the Saigon clique and of the M. R. P. ministers in Paris. It quotes extremely convincing documents to prove that Saigon could easily have avoided trouble. It was a Saigon stooge, dealing with an incident at Haiphong, who presented the local Vietnamese authorities with an unacceptable ultimatum and then ordered the battleship Suffren to shell the city, killing 6,000 civilians in the process.

Though the outrage poisoned French-Vietnamese relations, Ho Chi-minh continued to press for an agreement with the French. With the coming to power of the short-lived Blum government in December, 1946, he thought there was hope of avoiding war, but his message to Blum, Devilliers reveals, was deliberately "delayed in transmission" by Saigon and took a fortnight to reach Paris. During this fortnight the Hanoi incident of December 19 occurred and war broke out. Devilliers's account of the incident is a model of sobriety; he ignores none of the facts and comes to the conclusion that while neither the Vietnamese army under Giap nor the government of Ho Chi-minh—Ho himself was seriously ill at the time—was to blame for the attack which killed forty French civilians, some of the irregulars had got out of hand. Even after the war began, Ho Chi-minh continued to call for an armistice; not till 1949, when his government had been recognized by China and the Soviet Union, did his attitude change.

Bao Dai

Devilliers throws much light on Bao Dai. He describes him as a weak man, addicted to pursuing his personal pleasures, but does not dismiss him as a mere "night-club" emperor. He credits him, indeed, with a good deal of political acumen and a genuine desire to serve his country. True, he had welcomed the Japanese when they came to "liberate Vietnam from the French"—was that such a crime for an Asiatic?—but in 1945 he had surrendered his authority to the Vietnam Republic with dignity and graciousness and had later become Ho Chi-minh's "supreme counselor." When the French later decided to use him, he would not lend himself to the scheme until they had formally agreed to the "independence" of Vietnam—a concession Ho had tried in vain to extract from them at Fontainebleau.

Devilliers produces a large number of facts to show that Bao Dai's original plan was to strengthen his regime sufficiently to be able to enter into negotiations and reach a compromise with the Vietminh (the Independence Party), complete with a cease-fire and a democratic election, which might result in a coalition government, with the French gradually fading out altogether. There is also evidence in the book that for a time the Vietminh considered this possibility with some favor. But the new High Commissioner, Pignon, who had been one of the diehards surrounding Admiral d'Argenlieu, would not hear of it. After a short period of popularity, Bao Dai was discredited in the eyes of his own people, and his regime became a mere tool of the French in their war against communism. Leclerc's warning that "anti-communism in Asia is meaningless so long as the national problem has not been settled" was ignored.

The situation has been further complicated by the Korean war and the inclusion of Indo-China in America's strategic sphere. But Devilliers still thinks that only a Bao Dai–Ho Chi-minh compromise can save France from ruin. He even believes that such a solution

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might be compatible with world peace; the Vietnamese have no natural liking for China—rather the contrary—and the very limited help given lately by China to the Vietminh shows, he says, that China does not wish Vietnam to be *too* independent. He considers a Vietnamese buffer state a possibility; if the Americans will not allow Vietnam to become a satellite of Russia or China and China will not allow it to enter the American sphere, why not let it stew in its own juice and make the best of it?

The Old-Time Union Religion

BY JULES WEINBERG

Winter Haven, Florida

THE nomination of General Eisenhower brought only a moment's pause to the recent conference of the Southern Directors of the C. I. O. on Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga. Paul Harding, publicity director of the Southern drives, came into the room to announce the news. Then the meeting went on. Nine state directors were present to report on the progress that had been made in organizing the unorganized. Their brief nod to national politics was typical of their single-minded concentration on bringing the old-time religion of trade unionism to the Southern worker. It seemed as if the C. I. O. leaders in the South had renounced the luxury of intellectualizing current problems and turned to the simple quest of Sam Gompers's "more" for the workers.

I found this attitude fully embodied in the report of the director in my own area, William J. Smith, who was in charge of the drive in Florida's citrus belt. The nub of his report was in three sentences: "We won a few. We lost a few, maybe more. But now they are fighting us hard because they know we are there to stay." The other directors were equally down to earth. They showed no bitterness and used no rhetoric. I emphasize this point because I had been conditioned by Northern trade-union papers and labor theorists to expect to hear the South described in such hallowed terms as "fascist," "bourbon," "reactionary." These men had discarded labels and were concerned only with facts as they found them.

Taken together, the reports presented at the conference showed that the C. I. O. had to contend with two forces in the South—employers without a sense of history, and workers without an understanding of their own best interest. I had seen these forces at work. A few weeks before the conference the Citrus and Allied Workers' Division of the Brewery Workers (C. I. O.) began an organizing drive at Eloise, Florida. I was at Snively Groves, a citrus canning and packing plant, when the National Labor Board election was held. Until the last moment we were hopeful. But all during the balloting Snively's foremen and his son were hard at work inside the plant, cornering groups of workers, tearing away at the careful arguments we had woven into the organizing drive. In the end we lost.

There are relatively few great industrialists in the South but there are thousands of John Snivelys. They are big men in their communities, some with only modest wealth, others with genuine financial power. They would probably describe themselves as individualists, and the word is apt. They live in a world of their own cut off from contact with Northern industrial practices. One can hardly call them reactionaries, since they have not troubled to look at the past. But if some development makes them fear that their static world is threatened, they move violently to protect it.

In the North the employer encountered by organizers is usually an impersonal entity. The company is the antagonist, and management the symbol of its purpose. In the South the "boss men" are the enemy, and their plants are the expression of their attitude.

John Snively was a typical "boss man" in a typical situation. He has holdings throughout the citrus belt, where he is known as a tough marketeer, and owns supplier plants as far north as Georgia. The C. I. O. had organized one of his crate mills and called a strike, which he had smashed. As it moved into the citrus belt, he announced that its success with crate-mill workers could never be repeated with citrus workers. Then the C. I. O. won an election at the Roscoe Skipper plant, a Florida packing house in which Snively had a heavy investment. The victory shocked Snively, and his son warned an organizer: "You're not going to have it so easy in our plant." On the day of the election ordered by the NLRB, we were afraid he was right. We had been treated to the "textile technique," which means an intensive campaign against the union in the last few days of the drive.

Both the union and the employer deal with quicksilver. Many of the workers at Snively's were staunch men, true to their convictions, but the majority were swayed by sudden moods. Until Snively began his last-minute blitz they seemed solidly C. I. O.; afterward the organizers found they were pushing their converts rather than leading them.

JULES WEINBERG is publicity director for the Citrus and Allied Workers' Division of the Brewery Workers.

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There is so much poverty in the South that the worker's sole aspiration is generally just to have a job. He listens to the labor organizer's recitation of the gains achieved by Northern labor as to a fairy story, a dream. In a general store near the Snively plant I stood with a C. I. O. organizer and watched a barefoot child trade two dozen eggs for a couple of ten-cent cans of beans. "Not only will that kid's family praise him for making a smart trade," the organizer said, "but they'll be thankful to the storekeeper who paid twenty cents for a buck and a half's worth of eggs. How are you going to organize people who think that way, and how are you going to negotiate for them?"

The vote against the union was 301 to 195, but the C. I. O. immediately called upon the NLRB to set aside the election because of management's tactics. John Snively, at any rate, had been given a severe jolt. "We've done one thing," Director Bill Smith commented. "We've stopped this anti-union drive of the citrus packers cold. We haven't pushed it back, but we've kept it from going farther. We got almost two hundred votes, and don't think John Snively isn't scared. With a switch of fifty-odd votes we'd have it, and he's going to worry about those fifty votes. He's going to worry a lot about the next election."

The successes of the C. I. O. in the South, though puny by Northern standards of mass unionism, have given organized labor a firm foothold in a region that employers have thought could not be organized. With every gain, the resolution of the workers is hardening, and another time there will be fewer who can be coerced into turning against us. The employers, too, are emerging from their isolation and self-deception. Only the John Snivelys hold fast to the belief that the unions can be beaten back.

A Vote of Confidence

BY JEROME NATHANSON

Amsterdam, Holland

A RESOUNDING answer to the twin absolutisms of religious and Communist dogma was given here a fortnight ago at the sessions of the First International Congress on Humanism and Ethical Culture. Meeting on soil which nurtured the beginnings of the American tradition of liberty, 250 delegates from a dozen nations created a permanent international organization, dedicated to combating authoritarianism in every area of life and to forwarding democratic values in the spirit of humanist science and ethics.

The keynote of the sessions was struck in the presidential address of Julian Huxley, when he declared:

> The world is undoubtedly in need of a new religion. . . . The prerequisite today is that any such religion shall appeal potentially to all mankind; and that its intellectual and rational side shall not be incompatible with scientific knowledge but, on the contrary, be based on it. . . .
>
> There is at the moment a well-marked revival of Christianity; but this, with its supernatural theology, cannot satisfy the humanist, while its claims to the possession of absolute truth and the special features of its theology are bound to put it into conflict with other traditional religions, and to invalidate its claims to be a universal system.
>
> Communism, on the other hand . . . is dogmatic; it is totalitarian and subordinates the individual to the state; in its present form at least, it cannot do without the idea of an enemy—the bourgeoisie, capitalism, idealism, and now internationalism—and so vitiates its own potential universality. . . .
>
> If we take a comprehensive view, the developed individual human personality emerges as the highest product of evolution. . . . Only in promoting the development and dignity of individuals shall we find a criterion of further advance, or be accomplishing our destiny in a satisfactory way.

In the spirit of Mr. Huxley's observations and the discussions which revolved around them the congress registered its attitude by means of a series of propositions. Rejecting both religions based on revelation and totalitarian systems of government as solutions for the present crisis of civilization, it declared that the only alternative was humanism, and for the following reasons:

1. Humanism is democratic. The democratic principle can be applied to all human relationships and is not restricted to matters of government.

2. Humanism seeks to use science creatively, not destructively. Humanists believe that the tremendous problems with which mankind is faced in this age of transition can be solved. Science gives the means, but science alone does not propose the ends.

3. Humanism affirms the dignity of man and the right of the individual to the greatest possible freedom of development compatible with the rights of others.

4. Humanism insists that personal liberty is an end that need not and must not be sacrificed in order to improve material conditions. Without intellectual liberty, the progress of fundamental research, on which all other progress must in the long run depend, would not be possible.

These propositions were the answer of the First International Congress on Humanism and Ethical Culture to the pessimism and absolutism of the times. After they were approved, a British delegate observed, "We are casting a vote of confidence in man."

JEROME NATHANSON, a leader of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, was one of the organizers of the Amsterdam congress. He is the author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of the Democratic Life."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Parties and Politics in the South

A TWO-PARTY SOUTH? By Alexander Heard. The University of North Carolina Press. $4.75.

THIS important book is one of the products of an intensive three-year research project in the study of Southern politics. The project was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Roscoe Martin, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, was fortunate in persuading Professor V. O. Key, Jr., now at Harvard University, to become director of the research staff. Key was brilliantly aided by an astute group of young political scientists, including Alexander Heard and Donald S. Strong. Beginning in September, 1946, this staff began accumulating raw materials for the first definitive study of Southern politics. Thus far this collective enterprise has produced Key's magnificent "Southern Politics in State and Nation," "Southern Primaries and Elections, 1920-1949," prepared by Strong and Heard, and now Mr. Heard's superb analysis of the prospects for developing a two-party system in the South.

Drawing upon a vast collection of detailed statistical information and more than five hundred interviews with politicians, officials, and observers in eleven Southern states, Heard provides a handbook for "practical" politicians of each party. In five sections he presents a history of the one-party South, demonstrates the bankruptcy of the Dixiecrat movement, indicts the leadership of both major parties, and concludes that the Negro vote in conjunction with organized labor offers the principal hope for creating real party politics in the South.

A variety of factors are operating to create a two-party South. As a result of New Deal programs, the national Democratic Party has become less dependent on Southern electoral votes and at the same time has increased its attraction for Southern Negroes. Such Southern leaders as Hodding Carter and Jesse Jones came out for Thomas E. Dewey in 1948, a boost for recognition of the Republican Party as an alternative. There has been a marked increase in Negro voting since the 1948 Supreme Court decision invalidating the white primary. More important than this formal action has been a growing popular guaranty of Negro voting rights. Many Southerners have discovered that giving the Negro citizenship did not cause the roof to fall, and it has proved a useful tactic in opposing the Talmadges and Bilbos. There has been a general improvement in race relations, though "a movement appealing to those worried about the Negro will be assured of an audience and at least a measure of support for a long time to come."

Undergirding all these developments are two that are almost revolutionary. Opposition to Negro political action and racial tensions have been most bitter in rural areas where Negroes are concentrated. But in recent years there has been a decline both in the number of areas of Negro concentration and in the Negro proportion of the Southern population. Regional homogeneity is being destroyed by changes in economic and social foundations. Southern economic interests, as a result of industrialization and of diversified and mechanized agriculture, are no longer distinct from those of other sections. C. I. O. and A. F. of L. organizing attempts, though not as successful as could be desired, have increased the number of union members and given them "a start toward political cohesiveness hitherto unknown in the South." At the same time the new industrialization is creating "a class of business, commercial, and industrial managers, some of them from outside the region, who inclined toward the national policies of the Republican Party as the new proletariat inclined toward those of the Democratic Party."

It does not follow that the Republicans can sweep the South this year, or that an effective Republican Party can quickly be constructed to supplant those who have a vested interest in rotten-borough politics. "The intensity of hereditary Democratic and Republican strength in the South should sober those tempted to believe party realignments can occur over night." Though Eisenhower may split the South for this election, that alone will not create two-party politics, for "any shifts in the political balance in the South will almost certainly take place piecemeal." Heard makes it plain that Southern Republicans have been content to play Presidential politics. The leadership has not deigned to build a party organization, and national Republican leaders have not assisted those able Southerners who have tried to break this pattern. In most of the Southern states Republicans have failed even to run candidates, and in Texas in 1948 they unsuccessfully offered the party's Senate nomination to W. Lee O'Daniel and Martin Dies! With honorable exceptions most Southern Republican leaders have been interested in cash and patronage, not in winning elections. "To a greater or lesser degree in every Southern state there must be changes in the high command if the party is to grow." To date there is little evidence that Eisenhower has surrounded himself with men desirous of eliminating the "negative corruption" which has characterized Southern Republicanism.

In summary these seem to be Mr. Heard's major conclusions: Short of a basic institutional modification in the manner of electing the President or Congress, the source of any broad change lies in economic and social developments. "Changes in the nature and importance of the historical rural, agricultural society have changed the bases of political controversy in the South—as well as in the nation." With these changes it becomes apparent that "in the long run Southern conservatives will find neither in a separatist group (e. g., Dixiecrats) nor in the Democratic Party an adequate vehicle of political expression." Therefore, "for those with the courage to face it, the hope of the South for real party politics rests in the Republican Party." At the same time liberal factions of the Democratic Party will be strengthened by these same social and economic changes. Releasing the hold of conservative Democrats may

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depend more on successes in organizing labor than on any other factor. Joined by other low-income groups, including Negroes, the politicized working class could provide a basis for a liberal core in the Democratic Party of every Southern state. They would thereby "give conservative Southerners an incentive to seek refuge and allies in the Republican Party." This should prove a boon not alone to the South but, in so far as it contributed to a politics of principle and rationality, to the United States. These developments can only come about, Mr. Heard emphasizes, if it becomes increasingly difficult to divide components of the liberal nucleus by racist appeals.

H. H. WILSON

Some Recent Fiction

THE GATHERING DARKNESS. By Thomas Gallagher. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

PORTRAIT OF MELLIE. By Diana Petre. Pantheon Books. $2.75.

THE RISE OF SIMON LACHAUME. By Maurice Druon. Translated from the French by Edward Fitzgerald. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

"THE GATHERING DARKNESS," a first novel about New York during the depression, is not designed to be pleasant. An abortion performed in the fastnesses of Corona (Queens) stands out sharply in recollection; there are detailed accounts of what used to be known as wild parties. Such items are likely to make a best-seller, except that Mr. Gallagher is passionately serious about his writing and this is, on the whole, a good book. His subject is the disintegration of an Irish Catholic family. His villain is the failure of love. The action begins with the crash and ends in 1942. Mr. Gallagher traces the individual destinies of the four McPeeks as slowly and tortuously as life. The most impressively realized member of the family is the younger sister, Sheila. Driven by self-hatred, infantilism, and an incapacity to love, though she demands love rapaciously, she is destructive and, finally, self-destructive. The real torments and the manifold nastinesses of the individual who clamors to live out the great lie of romantic love—to be loved, as Auden says, for oneself alone—are frightening and authentic. The prose is deliberately turgid as it seeks to capture the turnings and returnings of minds brooding, looking for a bearable way of life or, simply, for surcease, and asking themselves hourly exactly where everything began to go wrong. Mr. Gallagher also knows how to convey a sense of place; the neighborhoods in this novel are very well done, and so, too, is the feeling of New York, cold and impersonal, during the depression years.

"Portrait of Mellie" is also a first novel and concerned with much the same kind of woman as Mr. Gallagher's Sheila, except that Mellie is English and rich. She declines and falls as she sets about, ruthlessly, getting her own way. Finally she loses the affection of her children, whom she cannot even like though she demands love of them. Her problems, with which Miss Petre has—it is almost too apparent—no sympathy, are complicated by her conflict with a sinister Scotch Presbyterian housekeeper who has brought the children up and by a female leech who pretends to be psychic. On the strength of these characters one over-enthusiastic English reviewer has declared that the narrative "gathers the impetus of Henry James's 'The Turn of the Screw.'" It does not. But this small collapse of a trivial, unpleasant, and trapped woman is very carefully studied and holds one's attention to the end.

"The Rise of Simon Lachaume," winner of the Prix Goncourt, is the kind of novel American and English novelists have never done very well; they do this sort of thing better in France, though not, I think, so well as is generally supposed. It belongs to the school of fiction which traces, on a grandiose scale, the history of families and fortunes through the generations. Such writing, in which the chief emphases are always panoramic, must arise out of a laudable but unfortunate desire to imitate "War and Peace." (In this country it may also be intended as an answer to the demand, voiced regularly since before 1900, for "the great American epic.") It has produced innumerable bad novels and very few good ones. There are always too many characters, all of them types or sketches, and too many plots. Anyone who wants

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to find out what life was like in the Faubourg St. Germain and in the great French banking families between 1920 and 1924 can gather much information here, all of it carefully given a specious verisimilitude by the introduction into the action of various real and infallibly eminent personages. Monsieur Druon propounds a few theses which explain, to his satisfaction, why our society is what it is and sets his characters to demonstrating them. Tolstoi, too, had his view of history, stated—some readers feel unfortunately—in the last chapters of "War and Peace." The wonder is not that the neo-Tolstoian school of fiction is so bad—how dull even the best of these novels, Romains' "Men of Good Will," Martin du Gard's "The Thibaults," Galsworthy's "The Forsyte Saga," turn out to be on re-reading!—but that, whatever his views of the historical process, Tolstoi was so good. Beside the miracle of "War and Peace" the imitations are animated wax-works.

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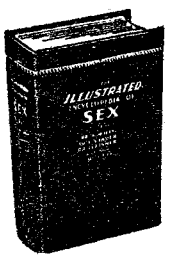

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The Little Big Stick

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. THE BIG STICK, 1905-1909. Vols. V and VI. Selected and Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard University Press. $20.

THIS third two-volume instalment of Theodore Roosevelt's letters covers the period—1905-09—of his last term as President. As he himself was fond of mentioning to friends, nobody ever enjoyed the White House more than he—and his family. He could have had still another term in all probability, and in correspondence included in these volumes he admitted that he would have loved it but felt it was not, under the circumstances, appropriate for him to seek it, short of a war or other great crisis. He felt too, at the period covered by these letters, that William Howard Taft was the best possible man to carry on his principles and policies, an opinion he was later to change.

From 1905 to 1909 Roosevelt dealt with great problems, national and international. He was concerned with curbing the arrogance of corporate business, controlling social unrest, and conserving natural resources, with the construction of the Panama Canal and Latin American unrest, with efforts to control the erratic Kaiser and prevent European war, to keep out Japanese immigrants without provoking war with Japan. And, significantly, these letters show that he had to cope with all these problems while working with an already outmoded instrument—the Republican Party. That his accomplishments as President were limited, in comparison with those of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, was due to the impossibility of bringing his own party up to date; by the time he took the great plunge and abandoned his party in 1912, it was too late to prevent Democratic victory. He was conscious of the difficulty his party presented when he wrote to his son Kermit on October 20, 1908, that "the labor people have just cause of complaint with the Republican Party taken as a whole, because Congress under the lead of Cannon treated them badly, and the courts, representing both the old-school Republicans and the old-school Democrats, have been curiously disregardful of their interests." But he was so determined to prevent what he called "wild radicalism" that he himself as President failed to curb monopoly, and accomplished only a small degree of social reform. He wrote the English writer Sydney Brooks after the success of Taft in the 1908 election: "In 1896 and again in 1900 we won a victory which was really a victory for ultra-conservatism against wild radicalism. If things had been allowed to continue in our party just as they were, we should have been upset with a smash soon afterwards. My business was to take hold of the conservative party and turn it into what it had been under Lincoln, that is, a party of *progressive* conservatism, or conservative radicalism; for of course wise radicalism and wise conservatism go hand in hand."

Theodore Roosevelt was so closely tied to people of his own kind of upbringing and to people who were his loyal subordinates that he could regard the election of Taft, which he helped so much to engineer, as part of the process of "progressive conservatism." Later, when he returned from Africa, he was to realize that Taft had moved far to the right, while the American people had moved to the left.

The reasons why the stature of Theodore Roosevelt has diminished since his Presidency and also why it has diminished somewhat too much are made clear in these letters. Roosevelt was chafing at the bit to transcend his antecedents, but he could not in the end break away from them. His hates were indiscriminate and intemperate. They included roughly anyone who did not agree with him at least 90 per cent, and in that category were such strange bedfellows as E. H. Harriman and Oswald Garrison Villard, Winston Churchill—as bumptious then as Roosevelt himself—and Big Bill Haywood. One gets the impression that Theodore Roosevelt was profoundly con-

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vinced that he had done everything single-handed with his little big stick and the aid of Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, Philander C. Knox, and other men whose dislike for corporate obscenities was equal to his but whose conservatism was so deep that they could not face even minimal reforms.

The footnotes in these two volumes, though they contain valuable material on people and events of the period, frequently fail to identify individuals sufficiently for the reader who is not also a historian, and in the effort to be amusing they sometimes show an unbecoming frivolity. The editors might well have controlled themselves, for instance, in the footnote on page 1384, where they could not avoid writing of the late Hall Caine: "Though in his genre he was extremely popular, he remained for the judicious student of romance and sensation a pale horse beneath the Haggard Rider." There is altogether too much editorial opinion and wisecracking comment in these footnotes. Mr. Morison's own introductory essay is a thoughtful attempt at the difficult task of appraising the restlessness of Theodore Roosevelt.

M. R. WERNER

Verse Chronicle

RETURNING from pleasant and profitable days where the Rockies meet the plains, I find awaiting notice mostly—is this a trend?—books of translated poetry. Three, at any rate, with wide variety of time and clime.

T'ao Ch'ien lived from 365 to 427 A.D. Sixty of his poems, under the title "T'ao the Hermit" (Thames and Hudson, $3.50), are presented in translation by William Acker, who contributes to the present volume also an account of the author's life and times, a comparison of this poet with some others, and a discussion of the special problems Chinese poetry poses for the translator: this second appendix is of considerable interest. Most Chinese poetry, Mr. Acker points out, is reflective and meditative; T'ao Ch'ien is gentle, quiet, a little repetitive, now and then platitudinous, occasionally troubled, more often composed and serene. Whether he draws pictures or conclusions, his work is done simply.

Not by any means could one call simple the Gothic grandeurs, grotesqueries, and, it must be admitted, tediums, of Goethe's "Faust," which appears in an abridged version by Louis MacNeice (Oxford, $4). This translation was made for the British Broadcasting Company in commemoration of the Goethe centenary. There has not yet, many have observed, been a readable translation of "Faust" and Mr. MacNeice's version is no exception, though it was, of course, not intended to be readable, only hearable. But even so. Granting, as we should, Mr. MacNeice's competence, we seem forced to dismaying inference that even in the original this great work assays a very high proportion of the most boring doggerel. Mr. MacNeice, in his own rather scathing references to the cutting he has done, about a third of the original, lends some countenance to this heretical notion. Still, there must have been some nobility, some eloquence, even some poetry, in the German text; here one finds very little. Sorry.

"The Poems of C. P. Cavafy" (Grove Press, $3.25) have been translated by John Mavrogordato, with an introduction by Rex Warner. Constantine Cavafy, 1863-1933, wrote in Greek but identified himself rather with Alexandria than the mainland or its patriotic *risorgimento*; he was known to E. M. Forster, who introduced him in Pharos and Pharillon and has reviewed the present volume for the *Listener*. Cavafy is most interesting in his detached yet sympathetic, ironic but delighted, view of the Alexandrian culture, whether contemporary or ancient; his tone can express, sometimes in the same poem, both resignation and affirmation. His frankly homosexual love poems are not, anyway, mincing. The translations by Mr. Mavrogordato are excellent, the language and line firm, the fancy poetic epithet rare, words seldom dragged in for the rhyme's sake. When they are, the translator usually says so in a footnote, and these rhyme's-sake passages seldom obtrude on the meaning. The pages are copiously annotated, and while the looking down and then looking up again is a trifle distracting, this seems to be a case where it is better to have a little too much than a lot too little; the footnotes do improve our understanding of the poems.

Two original volumes seem worth

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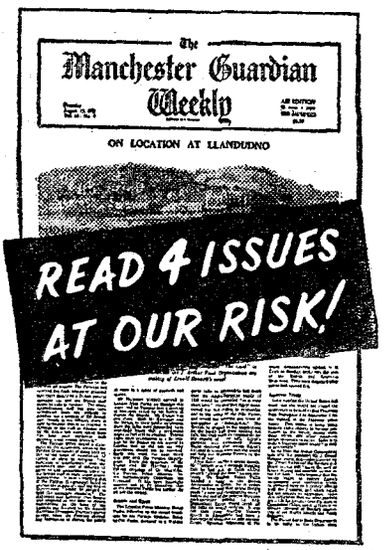

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remark: "Grand Tour, and Other Pomes," by Mary F. Lindsley (Philosophical Library, $4.75! Wow!), and "Ring Song," by Naomi Replansky (Scribner's, $2.50). The former book seems designed to make the page as unreadable as possible; there are too many long or semi-long narrative poems in it for my taste, and occasionally the author takes off into flights of inspired nobility where one cannot sympathetically follow. But there are some honesty and jollity here, by no means imperceptive, and some good sound writing. Jolly is not an adjective that could, by any stretch of the imagination, be applied to the poems of Miss Replansky, but she has an imagination, a feeling, still tentative, for variety in her technique and an earnestness that is almost frightening.

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Books in Brief

BARBARIANS IN OUR MIDST. By Virgil W. Peterson. Little, Brown. $4.50. A history of crime and politics in Chicago by the operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission. A sensational and appalling story told in a quiet, factual style that carries conviction and adds to the impact. That any city could survive so many years of anarchic disorganization and wholesale robbery is a wry tribute to the adaptability of the human species.

DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. By the Editors of *La Prensa.* John Day. $4. The first half of the book tells the story of Perón's seven-year campaign to control or destroy this great liberal newspaper; the last half is a selection of its editorials. One genuflects to the paper and to the courage of its publisher and editors; nevertheless, it must sadly be admitted that most North Americans, in reading the book, will find respect waging an unequal contest with boredom.

Films

MANNY FARBER

BY WAY of the characteristic reticence of John Ford, you probably know that he considers "The Quiet Man" to be the best of his 108 pictures. The new film is an old-fashioned confection idealizing the scenic beauties and quaint customs of Ireland; it is no better than the overrated "Informer" and a bit worse than the recent potboiler called "When Willie Comes Marching Home," the only film of Ford's that was not hampered by his bellicose, barroom sentimentality or falsified by the unstinting use of fancy scenic effects. Often during "The Quiet Man" the audience finds something laughable (the town drunkard and gossip muttering when he is offered buttermilk instead of whiskey, "The Borgias would do better"), but mostly the moviegoer has to put up with clumsily contrived fist fights, musical brogues spoken as though the actor were coping with an excess of tobacco juice in his mouth, mugging that plays up all the trusted hokums that are supposed to make the Irish so humorous-sympathetic, and a script that tends to resolve its problems by having the cast embrace, fraternity-brother fashion, and break out into full-throated ballads.

In the midst of it is the formless love story of two champion poseurs, one of them a strong, silent ex-boxer from Pittsburgh, Massachusetts (gag), who returns to the thatched cottage of his birth and spends the film wistfully lapping up luxurious scenery around Galway; the other, a hot-tempered, shy country wench who runs through streams clutching her broad-brimmed hat or compulsively glancing over her shoulder as she backs off to the very bottom of the screen. The characters are paper-thin types with traits taken from pulp stories, nineteenth-century novels, and a dozen British films starring members of the Abbey Theater. The noble close-mouthed hero developed his tungsten muscles in Pittsburgh's mills, learned about Ireland's beauties at his mother's knee, and lost his urge to fight when he killed a ring opponent. All this is revealed by way of dialogue, so that there is nothing for John Wayne to impersonate except John Wayne. Maureen O'Hara plays the windlike heroine out of "Wuthering Heights," and the Ford stock company (Arthur Shields, Ward Bond, McLaglen, Natwick, Fitzgerald) goes through the dated mimicry of such stereotypes as the tippling village cabby, the thick-headed, bellicose squire, and the jovial village priest who curses, jokes, and fishes from start to finish of the film.

Some of the technicolor photography is pretty original—a dense, gray atmosphere takes most of the hue and intensity out of the scene and makes for a curious picture that takes place in daylight yet has some of the sunless, remembered look of a surrealist painting. Ford's ability to lyricize a movie with scenic effects is manifest wherever the camera moves: Barry Fitzgerald driving his sidecar beneath a little bridge as the train passes over it, the old business of

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the wedding photograph burlesqued like a quaint valentine, wind delicately whipping a pile of sweepings. But all this padding of what is supposed to be an illusive, impressionistic study of a land and its people is disturbing because it becomes the underlying motive for the scenes, revealing the limited significance of every pub brawl, horse race, or pastoral event almost before the scene is under way.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OF OUTSTANDING importance among the first HMV LP records issued here by RCA Victor is the one that gives us Mozart's Piano Concertos K.466 and 491 played by Schnabel with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Süsskind's direction. The two works are distinguished from the other great members of the series by their powerful first movements in minor mode; after which the slow movement of K. 491 is a quiet interlude leading to a fine variation finale with powerful episodes for the piano; while the slow movement of K.466, beginning with a passage that is almost excessively sweet even the first of the too many times it is heard, goes on to one of the episodes of eventful sustained cantilena that Mozart sometimes put into these movements, and to a dramatic episode in minor, and leads to one of his breathless finales, with the winds providing a characteristically humorous coda. Schnabel's playing exhibits the subtle articulation and clear outlining of phrase, the delicacy and yet the cohesive inner tension, the limpidity and yet the strength, that made his Mozart playing unique; and the orchestra plays beautifully. Now and then the piano is not heard clearly; but this seems to be the only evidence of the fact that the recordings were made several years ago. And it is to be hoped that HMV will issue Schnabel's other post-war recordings here, including the ones of Schubert's Impromptus and of the marvelous performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 4.

Another HMV record has provided me with my first hearing of music of the English composer Rubbra, his Symphony No. 5, in which he organizes traditional materials competently but achieves nothing individual in the result that makes it worth attention. The performance, however, provides evidence of the fine instrument Barbirolli has created in the Hallé Orchestra. On the reverse side is Sibelius's Symphony No. 7, whose substance I again find engaging, but whose inadequacies as a symphonic structure are more apparent with each hearing. Sibelius's first title for the work, Fantasia Sinfonica (according to the notes on the record envelope), was the correct one. The performance seems to me over-deliberate at times—expressing not only the excessive solemnity with which the English still regard Sibelius, but an old weakness of Barbirolli's—but is otherwise good.

The English have begun to talk with similar solemnity about the Danish composer Nielsen; and now that, thanks to HMV, I have heard his Symphony No. 4 ("Inextinguishable") I know why: his music is a Danish version of Sibelius's—not an imitation, but similar to Sibelius's Fifth, for example, in its fluent use in large and dramatic forms of material that is engaging in its folk-like character and its regional flavor. The work is well performed by the Danish State Radio Symphony under Launy Grondahl's direction.

London offers all of Tchaikovsky's music for the ballet "Swan Lake" played by the London Symphony under Fistoulari's direction. I haven't a score to check with; but if the performances of the so-called "Black Swan" pas de deux from Act 3 that we have seen are correct, then the Tempo di valse and Adagio at the beginning of side 4 should be followed by the music for the two solo variations and coda, which is missing. And there may be other cuts (I can't figure out all the music required by the synopsis of Act 1); but most of the score certainly is given, and what is given includes a large number and variety of pieces whose lovely melodies and wonderful strokes of harmony, rhythm, and orchestration illustrate Tchaikovsky's extraordinary powers of invention, craftsmanship, and taste in the manipulation of the entire complex of musical line, color, texture, and mass. One's enjoyment of them is the greater for their being played by a finer orchestra than one normally hears at a ballet performance—though I must add that my own enjoyment of the Danse des petits cygnes in Act 4 (which Balanchine used for his enchanting pas de neuf) is the less for Fistoulari's dragging tempo, and my enjoyment of the Adagio of the Act 3 pas de deux is the less for Alfred Campoli's playing of the violin solo. And one's enjoyment of them would be even greater if they were correlated with the things they go with on the stage (the synopsis and labels are no good for this purpose). I hope that London will also record the music of "The Nutcracker" and "The Sleeping Beauty."

Roy Elihu Travis's Symphonic Allegro, which won the seventh annual Gershwin Memorial Award of Victory Lodge, B'nai B'rith, fills several minutes with explosive energy. The piece seems to be well performed by the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos's direction, with their previously issued performance of the Couperin-Milhaud Overture and Allegro from "La Sultane" on the same Columbia record.

Columbia also offers four excerpts from Walton's "Façade" and three dances from Leonard Bernstein's "Fancy Free," excellently performed by the Philadelphia Orchestra "Pops" under Hilsberg's direction.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

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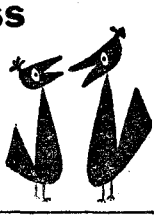

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Teacher's Testament

Dear Sirs: Another teacher has been sacrificed on the altar of conformity. Marston A. Hamlin, an art instructor at Ohio State University, lost his job recently for refusing to answer questions about his political beliefs before the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities. In explaining his refusal, Mr. Hamlin said:

I do not know what sort of gossip or "tip" led the commission to decide that I was to be honored with a subpoena. However, I could see from the tenor of the questioning that anyone expressing a strong interest in social problems would automatically appear suspect. The whole experience confirmed what is beginning to be common knowledge—that such investigations restrict freedom of thought, speech, and assembly, and enforce political and intellectual conformity.

Some of our more backward political leaders would truly like to replace free academic inquiry with comfortable stereotypes. I'm opposed to thought control, political repression, and the education by dogmatism that flows from them.

There is a strong legislative tendency to broaden the area of answers "which might tend to incriminate" a person, so that the innocent acts of yesterday may become the crimes of today or tomorrow. I feel that loyalty oaths in themselves assume a power . . . over the thoughts and actions of the individual beyond anything implicit or explicit in the Constitution, and are therefore unconstitutional.

To the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities, Mr. Hamlin made this statement:

I do affirm my opposition to fraudulent, forceful, or violent overthrow of our constitutional government. However, I intend to refuse to answer any questions concerning such alleged activity, or alleged participation in activities regarding unlawful alteration of our constitutional government, or alleged knowledge of persons having such unlawful acts as their objective, on the basis of constitutional safeguards protecting me from bearing witness against myself.

A further problem exists in that today any organization may apparently be designated as subversive or as a Communist-action group solely on the basis of the suspected beliefs of an undefined portion of its membership. As a consequence the possibility of bearing witness against myself is inherent in any inquiry at all regarding my associations or affiliations. . . .

Freedom is being curtailed under cover of a frantic searching for subversives. Indeed, the label of subversion is being extended to include all liberal thinking and just plain disagreement with official policy. Such a trend must be stopped if academic and political freedom are to be realities. To submit to questioning at this public hearing concerning my beliefs, ideas, and political thoughts, having no connection with unlawful destruction of our constitutional government, is to reveal my private views for you and the public to approve or disapprove. If disapproval follows, I may be fired from my job or ostracized because of my lawful private beliefs. The fear that such results could follow might tend to force me to forsake lawful beliefs I might otherwise continue to hold. This is thought control, and I will not submit to it.

Unhappily, what Mr. Hamlin feared would occur if he gave testimony before the commission happened anyway. As a result of his refusal to "talk," Howard L. Bevis, president of Ohio State, fired the young art instructor.

Columbus, Ohio HENRY F. STEVENS

Mr. Schmitt Talks On

Dear Sirs: Just a word, from a first-hand observer, about the Len Schmitt talkathon in Madison.

I volunteered to go out and collect money from people who phoned in their pledges. It gave me a good deal of confidence to know that, by and large, our citizens are decent people who feel a sense of guilt that McCarthy comes from this state.

Most of the money collected came from the east side of Madison—the industrial section. Very little came from the west side, where the people are in a higher income bracket. Is this an indication that well-to-do people are not immune to the scurrilous charges of a demagogue?

The Republican Voluntary Committee at first laughed off Len Schmitt, but the other day Governor Kohler said that the novelty of the talkathon would soon be exhausted, which is one way of saying that he and the rest of the Old Guard in the state are becoming worried. Most of the political observers say that Schmitt doesn't have a chance, but with a few more of these talkathons, I venture to predict that the result on September 9 will surprise a good many people.

Madison, Wis. PHILIP SIEKEVITZ

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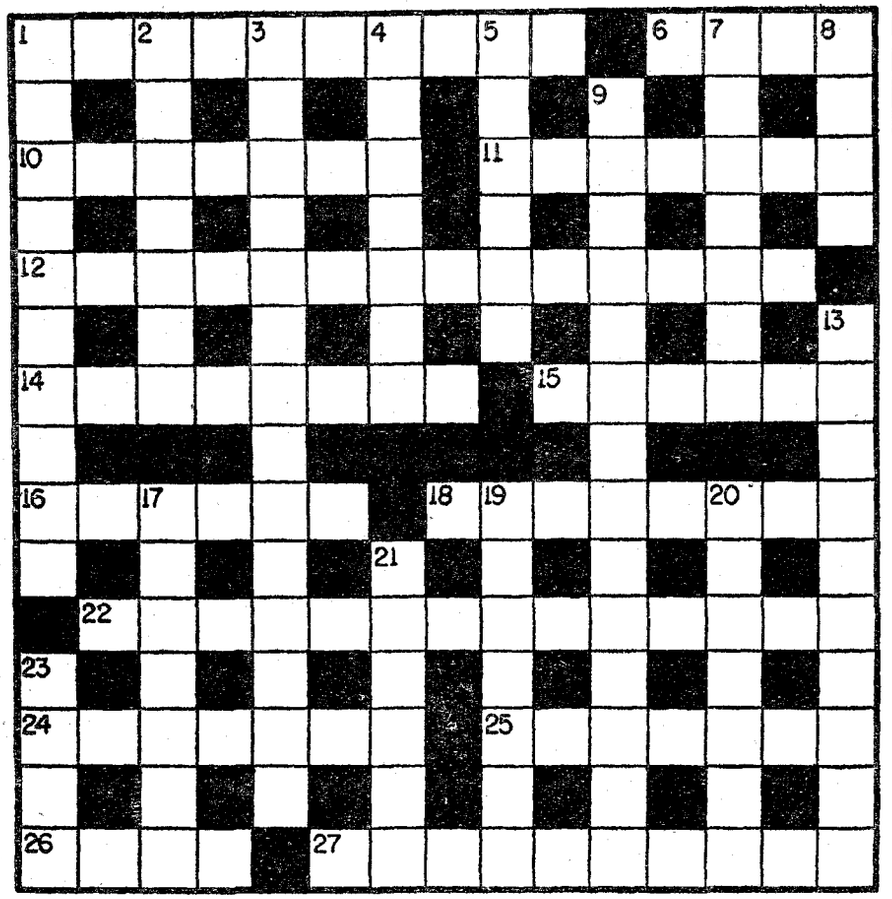
Crossword Puzzle No. 482

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Anathema is unnecessary with firemen. (2, 2, 6)
6 What is in the heart of Ferdinand's wife might suggest murder. (4)
10 Hurried movement. (7)
11 Rain, not the sort that Marie Antoinette liked. (7)
12 The implication of frozen features to Rain-in-the-Face? (4, 2, 3, 5)
14 Dipnoan found in Flushing. (8)
15 Proving a long depression is more than rough. (6)
16 A broken leg can go off in a different direction. (6)
18 The way to put the arm up, or a well-loved individual appears. (8)
22 It's nurses out of luck, perhaps. (14)
24 Affiance. (7)
25 To repeat, a pound on the head would make it educated! (7)
26 and 8 down. It's not your business, mainly, to define the limits of play! (4, 4)
27 One short day that seems to go on and on (when you're alone, perhaps). (10)

DOWN

1 The way to tell character from character, perhaps. (10)
2 Noninferential knowledge is in this. (7)
3 Getting a good look? There's just a little more in it than a way to get to heaven! (14)
4 A constitutional disease is enough to show these animals up. (7)
5 There's an Old Testament book of this name. (6)
7 It might be 18 around and still equivalent to 6⅞ around. (7)
8 See 26 across.
9 Does it suggest angle and bow if you get tied up with it? (10, 4)
13 Their cross, quite logically, might be found in church. (10)
17 Taken as one's own. (7)
19 Another name might suggest the cap of the capuchin or the poison of the pack. (7)
20 The poet is in a bad way, and it's about time to run. (7)
21 Dry, but a plural form is on horseback. (6)
23 Declines. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 481

ACROSS:—1 A STITCH IN TIME; 10 APOSTLE; 11 DRAGGLE; 12 DISTEMPER; 13 LOINS; 14 URCHIN; 16 SCANNING; 19 FRANKLIN; 20 WALDEN; 22 CHAFF; 23 FOREBEARS; 25 PATTIES; 26 ASTRIDE; 27 FREE ADMISSION.

DOWN:—2 STOPS; 3 IN THE NICK OF TIME; 4 CREEPS; 5 INDIRECT; 6 TRAILING ARBUTUS; 7 MAGNIFIED; 8 HANDCUFF; 9 RETS; 15 CHARACTER; 17 GANGSTER; 18 DIFFUSE; 21 ERNANI; 22 COPT; 24 AMINO.

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